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BRIEFS

FRANCE-NETHERLANDS ARMAMENTS DISCUSSIONS--The Hague - French Minister Defense Yvon Bourges will make an official visit to the Netherlands, beginning 12 March, at the invitation of Netherlands Defense Minister Willem Scholten. The two will discuss the security problems of Europe, controls and limitation on weapons, and current and future cooperation between France and the Netherlands in the production of military equipment. Bourges will visit an air base and a naval base. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Mar 80 p 16]

CSO: 3100

DE MURVILLE CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Feb 80 p 7 LD

[M.D. Report: "Mr Couve de Murville: The Problem of Nuclear Weapons in Europe Is More Dangerous Than the Afghan Crisis"]

[Text] Mr Couve de Murville thinks it is "natural" that the French Government should condemn "on principle" the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and "logical" that it is calling for it "to end as soon as possible." However, he regrets the fact that this condemnation was not delivered earlier.

Answering questions put by the Diplomatic Press Association on Wednesday 6 February Mr Couve de Murville, who was foreign minister and prime minister under General de Gaulle and who is now Rally for the Republic chairman of the assembly's foreign affairs committee, added: "Aside from that we have to decide whether we are going to react in the same way as the United States... in other words sanctions and the announcement of a considerable rearmament effort, should France react in the same way. I think it is natural for France to avoid playing the braggart. There is no point setting out to war with veiled threats whether in the sphere of armaments or butter sales."

"The root of the problem," according to the former minister, is to establish whether we want a return to the cold war or "a return to normal, progressive relations" between the Eastern and Western countries. He continued: "The Franco-German communique came out in favor of the second alternative and I think that is the right choice."

"Until last December," Mr Couve de Murville continued, "the state of the world was the result of what happened between Nixon and Brezhnev in Moscow in May 1972...; the SALT agreement. They agreed that they did not want war...and that, in a kind of general uncertainty, arms should be equally balanced."

"Since then a major event has occurred on which everything still depends: the question of nuclear weapons in Europe. If there is a danger of

conflict, it is certainly not because of Afghanistan; it is because of these weapons, since this affair could call into question the foundation of the Russian-American peace which is based on a balance of forces.

"The Americans, and later we, discovered that the Russians have attained superiority with the SS-20 missiles because they can readily strike everything of military importance anywhere in Western Europe. The Russians, on the other hand, say that the U.S. response, namely the deployment of Pershing missiles on the territory of their European allies, is an implicit aggression against them because these missiles can reach Soviet territory and, in particular, all the strategic nuclear bases targeted on the United States without the Soviets being able to reach U.S. territory with similar missiles. This is now being forgotten but it lies at the root of war and peace."

"There Is Time To Negotiate

Mr Couve de Murville thinks that negotiations are possible to restore a "situation known as balance." "This will happen sooner or later," Mr Couve de Murville said, "even if the Soviets say they do not want negotiations--for while the SS-20 missiles already exist the Pershing missiles do not.... The plan is to deploy them in Europe between 1983 and 1989. There is time to negotiate. There will be negotiations eventually especially since these Soviet SS-20 missiles were revealed to the public just a year ago although everybody, even I, knew that they existed and had been deployed for 2-3 years. Why was this revelation made at the beginning of 1979--it is one of history's mysteries.... This shows that there is room for discussion."

Nonetheless Mr Couve de Murville does not think that France should be drawn into SALT negotiations "because its voice would not be heard amid those of the United States and the USSR," but that it could discuss nuclear affairs "individually" with Washington and Moscow if they suggest it.

Why Was Daoud Overthrown?

The former minister stressed that the Afghan affair did not begin at the end of 1979 but in April 1978 when Daoud was assassinated. "At that time," Mr Couve de Murville continued, "nobody in the West reacted at all, not even Washington. That led the Soviets to believe that the West was not interested in Afghanistan.... After that they had a great number of problems, as everybody knows, with numerous assassinations and growing resistance. The mysterious thing is why the Soviets felt it was necessary to overthrow the Daoud regime when it was not causing them any trouble."

The Atlantic Alliance, Mr Couve de Murville added, "has no links" with Afghanistan any more than there were any links with Vietnam. Cuba, on the other hand, is in the Atlantic zone and the missile affairs was "a direct challenge" in which the Soviets were aiming at "American national

territory. That is why U.S. opinion is not in the least dismayed at the thought that there could be military operations in the Persian Gulf because, perhaps mistakenly, it does not think for a moment that they could bring about general war with the use of nuclear missiles."

Finally Mr Couve de Murville said he thinks the sale of French arms to Libya is "embarrassing" and that France should not give the Libyans the patrol boats being built in Cherbourg.

CSO: 3100

EDITORIAL NOTES REOPENING OF FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Feb 80 p 1 LD

[Editorial: "War and Detente"]

[Text] With his statement to the French diplomatic press and on France Inter on Wednesday, 6 February, Mr Couve de Murville reopened the debate on the international crisis which has been worrying public opinion so much for the past few weeks. This is a welcome initiative by General de Gaulle's old foreign minister and prime minister. The French people's concern for their country's foreign policy should indeed not be misled by oversimplified and excessively Manichean analyses. In addition, their legitimate anxieties should not be exploited for domestic political purposes.

What exactly did Mr Couve de Murville say? Essentially, he said that the situation created in Europe by the question of Eurostrategic missiles is more of a threat to the world's future than the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan--an invasion which, he added however, should have been clearly condemned by the French Government earlier than it was. Mr Couve de Murville also pointed out another important fact: The Soviet seizure of Afghanistan did not begin last December but in April 1978 when they agreed to, if not encouraged, the overthrow of Daoud's neutralist regime--a regime which was not causing them any problem. The West's passiveness at that time --Americans and French acting the same for once--was bound to encourage the Soviets in their venture since it amounted to recognizing their "rights" over a country whose fate was nonetheless not sealed in the years following the end of World War II like that of Czechoslovakia or Hungary.

These points made by Mr Couve de Murville are far from being useless. Indeed the word "war" is bandied about too often. However serious the Afghan crisis might be it should not contain the seeds of a major nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers.

Unless it is solved, the problem of a disruption of the nuclear balance in Europe is more serious since it constitutes a direct clash between Washington and Moscow. However it is less urgent than the Kremlin would have us believe: the Pershing-2 medium-range missiles and the Cruise missiles which are worrying the USSR so much will at best not be operational until 1983 while the Soviet SS-20 missiles have already been deployed for several years. This is to say--and Mr Couve de Murville has said it--that the protagonists in this crisis have ample time to negotiate a compromise. They just have to find the will to do so after the customary anathemas have been pronounced. Some "signs" from Moscow give reason to hope that this will exist: apparently the Soviet capital now thinks that negotiations are possible provided NATO temporarily "suspends" its decision to modernize its nuclear panoply. Just a short time ago Moscow was demanding that NATO should "abandon" its plans to modernize its forces.

Despite everything this relatively optimistic analysis of the situation implies that "detente" is not indivisible, in other words that the Afghan crisis has not reached the point of making all East-West dialog impossible. As a good Gaullist, Mr Couve de Murville is deeply convinced of that. In his view the objective interests of Washington and Moscow will eventually lead the two superpowers to the same conference table. The present insults and iron hand contest are bound to be replaced by negotiation. That is why it is essential for France not to confuse solidarity with unanimity and to jealously guard its independence--political but above all military. It is to be hoped that Mr Couve de Murville is right. However, it has to be noted that the bipolar world on the basis of which he is arguing belongs increasingly to the past.

CSO: 3100

BRIEFS

MANUFACTURERS VISIT GULF STATES--From 28 February to 6 March, a delegation of the Austrian Manufacturers Association headed by its chairman, Igler, visited the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Oman. The delegation conducted negotiations about a deepening of trade and economic relations. While Austria has so far imported virtually nothing from these countries, its exports to the three states last year were worth barely 0.5 million schillings. [AU111627 Vienna DIE PRESS in German 11 Mar 80 p 7 AU]

COOPERATION WITH TANZANIA -- An agreement was signed yesterday [12 March] between Tanzania and the Voest Steel Corporation in Linz which provides for the shipment and putting into operation of a stone crushing and building materials plant for the east African state. The order totals about 200 million Austrian schillings. The Voest Alpine Corporation will undertake the training of the staff. [AU140852 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 13 Mar 80 p 3 AU]

CSO: 3103

BRIEFS

TURKISH CYPRIOT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT--Istanbul, 15 Mar (AA)--President Rauf Denktas of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus said the Turkish Cypriot's main desire was to put an end to the nondescript status of the Turkish Federated State and form a federation through negotiations with the Greek Cypriots. Denktas made the comment during a stopover in Istanbul Saturday on his way back to Cyprus from a visit to London. He told reporters at Yesilkoy Airport he had had the opportunity to consult with members of parliament, the British Foreign Office, and British and Turkish businessmen in London. He had been informed, he said, that Greek owners of some hotels in the Maras (Varosha) District of Nicosia desired to reopen their establishments in partnership with Turkish and British businessmen. He noted he had already invited proprietors of hotels in Maras to reopen by the end of March, and thus had no objection to the forming of partnerships for this purpose. [Text] [TA161504 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1400 GMT 16 Mar 80 TA]

DENKTAS REPLIES TO REPORTERS--President Rauf Denktas returned to the federated state this evening after a private visit to London. During his stay in the British capital, Mr Denktas had a meeting with the foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, and addressed the British-Cyprus Commonwealth Association on the latest Cyprus developments. On his arrival at Ercan State Airport, President Denktas made a statement about his contacts in London and in reply to a question from a reporter, he also referred to the question of reopening a number of hotels at Varosha. He said he had had talks in London with Turkish Cypriot businessmen, who had offers from Greek Cypriot hoteliers to establish partnerships for the reopening of hotels at Varosha. He added that the federated state was not against such a partnership but that it was something which should not be delayed. In reply to another question, Mr Denktas said that if there was no further response from the Greek Cypriot hoteliers, the view of the government was that at least a few hotels at Varosha should be reopened in the near future. [Text] [TA151749 (Clandestine) Bayrak Radio in English to Cyprus 1730 GMT 15 Mar 80 TA]

COMMENTATOR VIEWS WEHNER STATEMENT ON ARMS RACE

DW190940 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Mar 80 p 12 DW

[Article signed R.H.: "Which Vicious Circle"]

[Text] What Herbert Wehner said in St. Ingbert seems to be becoming a secret matter. But let us assume that he really used the term "vicious circle of an arms race," which seems a good characterization of the situation also for many others. One would have to announce reservations with regard to this word when a leading man of a government party uses it. In the face of arms control talks with the Soviet Union such a term means renunciation of parts of the starting position, since the "vicious circle of an arms race" equally distributes the fault on all involved. But we believe, and our opinion has been supported in past years, that since the fifties, when the advance of the world revolution bogged down, the Soviet Union has been aiming particularly for a concentration of every kind of military power and that it now confronts the West with the fact that it is armed best in every field, or armed in a most practical way, which is often of equal value, and that it frequently is superior. In view of this joining the self-accusation of an "arms race" means weakening the convictions and the arguments on the basis of which we must haggle about peace.

CSO: 3103

CP CHIEF SARRINEN COMMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN, PARTY SPLIT

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 8 Feb 80 pp 20-22

[Interview with Communist Party Chief Saarinen]

[Text] [Question] Do you approve of the USSR actions in Afghanistan?

[Answer] "If one examines the matter--as one must--from the point of view of the Soviet Union, I guess one has to approve of them.

"Another matter is that from the point of view of international development, these actions might not have positive effects elsewhere in the world. The Soviet party and government took this into consideration. They knew there were going to be retaliatory measures."

[Question] Were the predictions accurate on the strength of the retaliatory measures?

[Answer] "Hard to say, maybe not in every detail."

"The relationship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan has been quite close for decades and they have a treaty which also includes the possibility of assistance. In this respect, the matter is clear."

"The internal situation in Afghanistan was tense and confused after the 1978 revolution."

"If a corresponding situation had come up on the U.S. borders, the United States would have acted too."

[Question] In what circumstances and for what reason was the aid asked for?

[Answer] "That is unclear to me too."

"But the request did originate from within the group that is now in government."

[Question] The other government was still in control at that time?

[Answer] "How everything took shape is unclear."

"But there was nothing in the Amin government to defend."

[Question] Who decides what government is bad and what government is good?

[Answer] "It should become a general practice and rule that no country interferes in the internal matters of another country. But the world is such that this, in itself a correct principle, is not generally followed. Interference takes place constantly."

"The United States is one superpower which has very strongly interfered in the other countries' internal affairs."

[Question] In 1968, the Finnish Communist Party took a reserved stand with the USSR actions in Czechoslovakia.

[Answer] "We remember well the Czechoslovakian happenings, but the Soviet Union was at that time concerned about the threat to the socialist system."

[Question] What do you now think of the Czechoslovakian happenings 12 years ago?

[Answer] "We in the party have buried the matter."

"It was then aggravating the internal situation in the SKP [Finnish Communist Party]."

"But very soon afterwards, we made an agreement with the representatives of the CPSU [Soviet Union Communist Party] that a page be turned as far as this problem was concerned. There has been no return to the matter by the CPSU."

"However, the SKP minority faction has been demanding for years that the party stand be reexamined, but this has not been done."

[Question] What about Finland, did it act right in the Afghanistan matter by taking the stand it took?

[Answer] "When it is clearly a question of conflicts between the super-powers, Finland should keep out of them."

"There was hardly any other alternative to the one the government chose. It acted right."

"But generally Finland should try to continue to work actively toward reestablishing detente. Finland alone cannot have a great impact, but certainly in cooperation with small and medium-size countries."

[Question] The West European communist parties have rather uniformly approved of the USSR actions in Afghanistan. There are, however, exceptions, such as Italy and Sweden. When will the time come when all the communists of the world will unite?

[Answer] "I don't believe that the monolithic unity of old times is going to be reached again. When communists achieve a position of power in a country, national interests enter the picture much more strongly."

"The nations of the world are very different. They have different cultures, traditions; they are on different levels of development."

"But there should be a common principle of respect for others, the principle of sovereignty, and avoidance of interference."

Enough of Common Concerns

According to Saarinen, there are so many common concerns that they give sufficient basis for peaceful cooperation with others as well as communists. He lists the danger of war, economic matters, and the question of sufficiency of natural resources together with their unequal distribution.

"I am bothered by the fact that there are serious obstacles to disarmament."

"After the end of the war, there were thoughts and plans of turning the war industry over to peaceful production."

"It is a great problem for the United States whose weapon production is very large. Converting from production of airplanes and tanks to production of refrigerators is a great problem in the United States. The weapon industry is a remunerative field."

"For the Soviet Union on the other hand, keeping up with the armament race is expensive. There is would be possible as well as necessary to convert the weapon industry to peaceful production."

"This is the big difference between capitalism and socialism. How would the United States be able to market its peace-time products? Weapons sell better."

[Question] Indeed, do the rich capitalist countries intentionally obstruct peaceful production in the USSR?

[Answer] "Yes. Their productivity is noticeably higher. Their technical skills and readiness in many fields are noticeably further developed and more effective."

[Question] Why is capitalism a more effective system?

[Answer] "It has to do with [the nature of] the capitalist system. They strive to produce everything with the goal of as much as possible profit."

"The strengthening of the labor union movement is a whip that forces them to invest more and more effective machines and means of production to enable them to cut down on labor expenses."

"In the other hand, the routine and hurry--caused by this system--cause physical and emotional problems."

[Question] But don't the socialist countries strive for the same: development of techniques, increasing productivity, and so on?"

"The capitalist system continually challenges the socialist countries to improve their material standard of living. It is a question of competition between the system."

"I see here a vicious circle that cannot be broken in the near future."

Conservative Party Support at Its Highest

Socialism and capitalism also compete in Finland, but amicably. From 1966, this country has been governed by the common sense of the laborers and farmers, with the popular front power. The communists have been active, tenaciously dividing the power and the responsibility.

"We are not satisfied with everything. For instance, there is now a government with a bourgeois majority. But it would be even more rightist if we were not part of it," Chairman Aarne Saarinen argues.

The growing Conservative Party has become an ever greater problem for the government parties. Sarrinen believes that its support has reached the highest point already. It is possible however that the Conservative Party will be continually left out, and Saarinen reasons this way:

"As we are keeping the Conservative Party in opposition, it is possible for frustration to start there too."

[Question] But will everybody be able to take it, if the Conservative Party continues to grow?

[Answer] "The configurations can of course change," Sarrinen considers.

The growth of "new working class strata," the impoverished white collar workers, and their leaning to the right also cause concern to the left.

"This matter has to be taken care of. Their interests have to be considered more, contacts have to be made," Saarinen explains his tactics.

In their government policy, the communists have fallen into a peculiar vicious circle, which Saarinen describes in the following way:

"By participating actively in the reform policy, we are also taking supporters away from socialism--this at least has been the case so far "

"Improving the living conditions of the working people take away the need to have a socialist revolution."

Saarinen accounts for much of the growth of the Conservative Party by the tax policy failures of the government front in the beginning of the 70's. Inflation was galloping, but there were no adjustments of the tax tables. Progressive taxation began to bite the laborer, too.

"I well remember how the building workers came to say that it was not worth their while to work any more."

The Conservative Party took advantage of this and gained support.

But the Conservative Party gets no support from Saarinen, in anything:

"Scarcely any credit is due to the Conservative Party for Finland being a free country. It has been--that is, the establishing of freedom--influenced by the Soviet Union and the international situation, and of course by the SKP/SKDL [Finnish Communist Party and Finnish People's Democratic League]."

Saarinen refers to the freedom which was established as the result of the Continuation War. In his opinion, democratic rights came into this country only then.

Quoting Janne Hakulinen, a former chief of the Business Union, Saarinen says:

"The Finnish employers began to give credit to the union movement only when the Soviet Army began to knock on the gates of Berlin."

The January Betrothal in the January of the Winter War did not yet mean anything in the opinion of the communists. The first collective bargaining agreement covering the whole country was made only in the beginning of 1945.

The Party in Straits

Aarne Saarinen has enough worries even in his own party, which he has led since the year 1966. In fact, the SKP already split once, in the representatives' special meeting in 1968. The minority marched out. Superficial unity was reached in the special meeting of 1970.

"The party boat has become so stuck that it is difficult to nudge it up to a new route."

[Question] Would it have been better if the party had dissolved?

[Answer] "No, that is so negative."

"On the other hand, we cannot continue in quite the old way either."

By talking about the boat being stuck, Saarinen means that the adversaries in the party split select their representatives independently. This way, for instance, the central committee has become incapacitated, Saarinen has said.

According to Saarinen, it is hardly possible to talk about party democracy: "Before the representatives' meeting, an agreement is made by the top, the management, on the proceedings and not so much as a change of a comma is allowed in them. This irritates the representatives," Saarinen says.

"When the principle of democratic centralism cannot be applied to the whole of the party, both camps apply it ever more rigidly."

[Question] Has the party chief Saarinen taken the unification of the party as a goal?

[Answer] "It is of course a valuable goal," he answers evasively.

He has advised the comrades to look for a younger and more charismatic party chief. For his part, the situation is still open, but it seems that there is no suitable successor to be found.

Plenty of Time Still

A suitable man is also sought for the office of president to succeed Urho Kekkonen. The communists had a decisive role in 1956 in his election over the Social Democrat K.A. Fagerholm.

[Question] Who is going to be chosen after Kekkonen?

[Answer] "The kind of man whom both the Communists and the People's Democrats feel they can trust."

[Question] Is there someone, now an object of speculation, whom you yourself don't trust?

[Answer] "One cannot be so categorical. But there will be some persons whom we trust better than others."

"There is still plenty of time; unless to mention names."

"But I do want to say that it is not important to us whether the person in question is bourgeois or a Social Democrat."

"The decisive factor is that he can be trusted. That he really consistently follows the foreign policy line that Kekkonen has promulgated."

Foreign policy has always been directed by a bourgeois politician.

"We sensed, knew this somehow in 1956."

The polls show Mauno Koivisto, a Social Democrat, in the lead. He lives two stories above Aarne Saarinen on Sarriniemenkatu Street.

[Question] What is the secret of his popularity?

[Answer] "I find it irrational somehow. Maybe because he is a pessimist, he gives an impression of a realistic attitude, or because he is so vague, unclear in his statements, or else it has to do with his background."

"We have not deliberated on this matter--Koivisto--very specifically."

"It may be that some speculate that making him the prime minister will result in a decline of his popularity...."

"But Manu [Koivisto] has been on his guard in this matter. He has managed to avoid getting into personal difficulties in the government. He always takes refuge in party policies. And he has not said that much in public."

"He personally follows quite an opportunistic line," Saarinen considers.

9471

CSO: 3107

DEFENSE MINISTRY WORKING GROUP: PUT CIVIL DEFENSE IN MILITARY

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 26 Jan 80 p 5

[Text] A study group appointed by the Defense Ministry to investigate arrangements for civilian service [by conscientious objectors] has proposed that civilian service be made part of national defense. The study group that commenced its work in April last year delivered its report on Friday [29 February] to the Defense Minister Lasse Aikas.

The study group considers that the fact that the goal of civilian service [by draftees] has not been defined in the current law constitutes the central legislative defect. On this basis, the study group proposes that the law on non-combatant and civilian service be changed. In the new law, civilian service should be clearly defined as a fulfillment of national defense duty.

According to the study group, the change would give a foundation for training that would create a readiness for national defense functions in civilian service men. Their duties would be such that civilian service men could perform them during a war or other crisis situation without being impeded by their religious or ethical convictions.

Enter Service Three Times a Year

The study group also proposes changing the system of entry into the service by civilian service men. Entry should be three times a year in groups of equal size. The study group justifies this proposal by the numbers accepted yearly for civilian service as well as by training considerations. Last year, 1,088 draftees were accepted for civilian service, and in 1978 the number of civilian service men was 1,078.

Those assigned to service would be systematically directed to two training centers that would operate in southern and northern Finland. Training would be conducted for example in social work, in ecological assignments and in the work projects of the Department of Public Roads and Waterways as well as with the State Railways System.

According to the present practice, the Ministry of Labor places the civilian service men. The service is performed in assignments by the state civil service, municipalities and unions of municipalities as well as in central hospitals. There are about 180 establishments available to civilian service men.

Effect on Defense Readiness

Despite the fact that the number of those applying for civilian service has risen yearly by only less than 2 percent, the growth in numbers has had some effect on defense readiness according to the office chief Aimo Pajunen of the Defense Ministry. The effect would be mostly evident in a mobilization situation as a diminished number of reserves. Pajunen however considers that the most important result of the change in current practice would be the effect on equality before the law.

Also the study group emphasized the equality principle. Because military duty is in most cases performed as conscripts in armed service, it is this mode of service that must be used as a basis for comparison.

Costs Will Rise

The study group has not at this point estimated the costs of the reform. It is however clear that costs will be considerably higher than in the present system, the study group notes.

Because the organization of civilian service is a facet of attending to national defense, the study group considers it important that the necessary personal and other resources will be allotted to the arrangements it proposes.

Civilian Service Union:

The Civilian Service Union immediately expressed its criticism of the study group's report and its opposition to it.

"We can under no circumstance accept that civilian service will now be made a part of the military crisis training," representatives of the union Juhani Herranen and Jukka Viitanen report.

"This would be the case if civilian service men were used for instance in the protection of the population."

"The study group emphasizes national defense goals--our union on the other hand emphasizes the goals of a policy for peace."

In the opinion of the union, the study group wants to "militarize the civilian service" by emphasizing the national defense aspects.

"The realization of the study group's proposal would mean that the ideological basis of the civilian service would be invalidated. The civilian service men cannot approve of this.

The union remarks that civilian service cannot be compared with military service.

"In our opinion, the civilian service system could be improved for instance so that it would be defined as work performed in order to preserve peace."

"This could be done for example in peace organizations, in various areas of international cooperation and in the social and public health areas of the Civil Administration, and environmental conservation," the union observes.

"This would mean the acceptance of state'supported institutions and citizen organizations as sites for civilian service."

According to the union, civilian service has to be made a fundamental right and duty of the citizens, and its goal will have to be the peace education of the citizens.

"These goals are completely different from those of the Defense Ministry's study group," the union notes.

9571

CSO: 3107

NESTE PREPARES TO SEEK OIL IN CUBAN WATERS

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 8 Feb 80 p 21

[Text] (STT)--Neste is about to start participating in the seeking and drilling for oil in the Cuban continental shelf area in the Caribbean Sea. Cuban officials and the company are currently conducting negotiations in the matter and investigating Finnish opportunities to participate in the oil search and production.

The Cuban Embassy's Commercial Councillor Dr Roberto Santiesteban Casanova confirms that Cuba is interested in getting Neste to participate in organizing Cuban oil production. According to him, it is a question of a major enterprise.

"We are aware of the knowledge Finnish companies have of seeking oil and as a producer for equipment needed for it. There certainly will be good opportunities for cooperation between Finland and Cuba," Santiesteban stated in his interview with the STT [Finnish Information Agency].

Oil Area in Five Sectors

Cuba is planning to divide the potential oil area of the continental shelf into five sectors. One company would be given the task of oil prospecting and drilling in each area. Neste could be one of these companies.

At present, Cuba produces about a million tons of oil per year. Investigations indicate that there are good chances for even more extensive oil finds in the Cuban territory. "The largest part of the area has however not been investigated and Cuba does not possess the necessary technology and knowhow for investigation or drilling," Santiesteban stated.

"Cuba is situated at the midpoint of the Caribbean Sea, and its neighboring countries Mexico and Venezuela have major oil deposits," Santiesteban noted.

The Neste Managing Director Jaakko Ihamuotila has confirmed publicly that Neste has conducted negotiations on oil seeking in the Caribbean Sea area and in West Africa. The company has previously participated in seeking

oil in the North Sea, although test drillings did not result in such finds that production would have been profitable.

On the other hand, Rauma-Repola has become a notable manufacturer of equipment for oil drilling at sea; it has produced or has included in its plans both drilling platforms and vessels and half-sunk platforms. Transport of those for oil prospecting in the Caribbean Sea or even on the South American coast has been calculated, as far as is known, to be commercially profitable, and so Rauma-Repola's marketing area extends even to these regions.

Higher Stakes Necessary

Until now, Neste has invested only a few millions a year in oil prospecting. "But if we want results in this area, higher stakes are needed. We are now making plans and estimates and maybe we will then see what risks the company's owner and management are ready to undertake," Ihamuotila has said.

Oil seeking is only one of the projects that are being considered between Finland and Cuba. As a matter of fact, there are now projects at different stages worth up to hundreds of millions of marks; this is a result of quick picking up of trade contacts. How the projects fare is naturally dependent on the progress of the negotiations, but they are fairly far advanced, and we are hopeful, Santiesteban noted.

Refined Steel Mill in Cuba?

Finnish enterprises are in good positions in negotiations over delivery of a refined steel mill to Cuba. Negotiations in the matter have been conducted both in Helsinki and Havana, and they are apparently fairly far advanced. Outokumpu together with Krupp is in the forefront of Finnish companies involved in this. Particularly close to the Cubans' heart seems to be the plan for getting cobalt production started. Cobalt is found in combination with nickel and certain other metals. "We are now waiting for an offer from Finnish companies which would include all stages of the cobalt project up to refining it," Santiesteban explained.

Neste Oy: The Venture still in Early Stages

According to the assistant director of Neste, Airo Laiho, Neste considers the Cuban oil prospecting venture to be still in very early stages.

"The initiative in this matter was taken by the Cuban Embassy. Since then, we have had a few contacts made, but there have been no actual negotiations," Laiho stated.

"As things are, it isn't possible to give more precise information on for example the scheduling of the venture," Laiho commented.

Similarly, no comment was given at this point on the project's monetary value.

SCHOLAR SAYS AFGHANISTAN EVENTS PUT PRESSURE ON SMALL COUNTRIES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Feb 80 p 6

[Text] Tampere (HS [HELSINGIN SANOMAT])--Professor Osmo [Apunen] warns against managing neutrality policy in such a way that we either keep quiet or, in the name of impartiality, enter the camp of each superpower in turn.

Apunen, who spoke in Tampere at the Paasikivi Society, justified his view with the explanation that breaking out of detente into an open propaganda war is squeezing nonaligned and neutral countries closer to the allied countries with the aid of extremely simplified configurations.

The stifled, black and white world is the very world of the cold war that we don't want back under any circumstances, Apunen stated. According to him, the politics of the 1980's are more reminiscent of the 1940's block politics than the cold war.

Professor Apunen (Social Democrat) also evaluated the new role of the United States and said that in the near future, a United States that is self-conscious, aggressive, and before long militarily prepared is going to re-enter international politics.

Jimmy [Carter] has succeeded in mobilizing the Americans according to Apunen, even if he has not succeeded in freeing the hostages in Tehran or removing the Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

Apunen also stated that the hands of the United States president have been at the same time been freed of the political and legal entanglements which, as a result of the Vietnam war, Watergate, and the CIA disclosures, had been restricting his freedom to operate.

This role change of a leading power will, according to Apunen, naturally cause disarray in the surface configurations of international politics.

"Heard Nothing, Saw Nothing"

At the end of his presentation in the Paasikivi Society, Apunen was asked for his assessment of the debate on the yya-treaty [Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance].

Apunen ventured that the term legitimacy that he used on TV had been misinterpreted. According to him, it might have been interpreted as "legalized" whereas the correct equivalent is "justified."

"We have accepted as legitimate that if a border area of the Soviet Union becomes a base for an attack against it, the Soviet Union has the right to act," Apunen explained.

The debate on Apunen's view is according to him reminiscent of the situation in a former Worker's Association meeting hall where someone arrives late and says: "I saw nothing and heard nothing but I vehemently oppose."

There was a public uproar after Apunen's appearance on TV on 29 January where he said among other things: "A situation has risen in Afghanistan which made the Soviet Union feel that its basic security interests were endangered and that it perhaps for that reason alone saw this to be a sufficient reason for intervention; and that since we have the yya-treaty, we have entered into similar security arrangements [and] so we do have to admit for the sake of the credibility of our own yya-treaty and the consistency of our basic security policy that this sort of possibility (of Soviet intervention) exists. And that by entering into the agreement we have accepted as legitimate that if one of the Soviet Union's neighboring countries threatens to become a base for an attack against the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has the right to act."

"It will have the right to that already on the basis of international justice. That is, a state has the right to intervene in the affairs of another, if the basic security interests have been endangered and since here, in addition, this kind of interest has been accepted as justified by a yya-treaty, it must in my opinion be taken seriously," Apunen said on TV.

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CSO: 3107

FINNS, SOVIETS TO DEVELOP LOCOMOTIVE FOR THIRD WORLD

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 23 Jan 80 p 13

[Text] Finnish and Soviet enterprises have brought a new type of electric engine to the final phase of development. Marketing to third countries is expected to proceed as soon as a trade agreement has been signed.

This is reported by Chief Secretary Timo Arjas of the Finnish-Soviet Economic Cooperation Commission in the new periodical KAUPPAPOLIITTISIA TIEDOTUKSIA [Trade Policy Communications]. The engines are, according to Arjas, a good example of industrial cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

All in all, over twenty cooperation agreements between Finnish and Soviet enterprises have already been made in an attempt to develop industrial cooperation.

In the areas of ship building, there is significant cooperation, and at present an average of 5.6 percent of the value of vessels sold to the Soviet Union is made up of Soviet components. An attempt will be made to raise this figure to 10-15 percent.

As further examples, Arjas mentions the deliveries of 87 SR [expansion unknown] Series 1 electric engines for the Finnish State Railways System, the cooperation between Wartsila and Elektrosila in the production of diesel aggregates, license-based cooperation on various products--from ice removal equipment to antennas--and installment of Tamrock mining drills on platforms made in Kazakhstan.

Standard Agreements Being Made

In order to improve the conditions for industrial cooperation, a set of typical, standard agreements is being prepared at the moment on the basis of the experiences of Finnish enterprises; these comprise lists of details that have to be taken into consideration and that have to be agreed on when drawing up new cover agreements in industrial cooperation.

According to Arjas, the following are examples of these kinds of details: protection of technical knowhow and the remuneration for it, definition of quotas for each party, timetables, and rules for common marketing. These conditions change when moving from the level of idea building to producing and marketing together.

"In the first place, we are attempting in the industrial cooperation to cover Finland's and the Soviet Union's own markets, but it is natural that in order to create long production series, third countries' markets are of interest," Arjas states. To develop cooperation in third countries, a separate study group has been established in the Economic Commission.

In the domain of concrete developmental directions, industrial cooperation includes the sale of components, subcontracting, and further development of actual common production in which the components have been specifically designed in order to be combined with the cooperating partner's products.

PAO (Long-Range Planning) Extension This Year

Under Secretary of State Paavo Rantanen states in his article on the execution of long-range planning that during the current year, an extension of 5 more years is being negotiated in the long-range plans.

According to the preliminary proposal by Finland, the program would be continued another 5 years by a protocol agreement between the governments the appendix of which would contain readjustments and more precise specifications. This way, the program for the cover period would include the next 15 years. At the moment, the PAO extends to the year 1990.

Some good results have been achieved in the field of industrial cooperation. The opportunities for cooperation appear especially promising in some areas of machine construction which is covered by a comprehensive appendix in the PAO. Industrial cooperation is also entering the picture in the framework of border commerce, Rantanen writes.

Counter Purchases an Obstacle

Rantanen states, however, that effective trade applications of industrial cooperation are in some instances hampered by the introduction of compensatory and counter purchase provisions.

"We have to keep in mind that between Finland and the Soviet Union, the principle of balanced trade is applied on a total scale, not separately in each sector," Rantanen notes.

The extension of the long-range program is being prepared by a study group which also prepared the cover agreement signed last fall between the two countries.

The study group will submit its report to the next meeting of the Economic Commission to be held in the Soviet Union next spring. The timetable would make possible the signing of the PAO extension and amendment protocols during 1980, Rantanen states.

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CSO: 3107

IDEA OF COPRODUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS REVIVED

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Feb 80 p 10 LD

[Unattributed report: "A Revival of European Coproduction of Conventional Arms"]

[Text] Already unusual since it took place at the same time as the Giscard d'Estaing-Helmut Schmidt summit discussions, the meeting between the two defense ministers-Yvon Bourges and Hans Apel--acquires additional significance because it occurred less than one week after a meeting between the French defense minister and his British counterpart Francis Pym.

In any case, the three ministers had already met in Hamburg in mid-October 1979, at Mr Apel's invitation. The subject discussed by the two--or three--men: revival of cooperation with respect to the study and production of air and ground conventional arms systems by means of a bilateral or tri-lateral procedure in accordance with the requirements of their respective general staffs. In fact, France, the United Kingdom and the FRG have reached a stage in their military cooperation when they should accelerate the launching of new arms programs for arms which will replace equipment in use for the past 2 decades.

It is on the study of the question of a renewal of some of their conventional arms that the three ministers concentrated their attention during their meetings. In fact, in the nuclear sphere convergences are practically nonexistent. The FRG, on whose territory American nuclear arms systems have been installed and Cruise missiles and Pershing-2 tactical missiles capable of reaching Soviet soil will be deployed from 1983 onward, cannot participate in any nuclear agreement which would give it control over such arms. As for France and Great Britain, they are trying to develop separately a new generation of nuclear arms.

However, in the sphere of conventional arms, the number of opportunities for cooperation between two or three countries is increasing and, depending on the projects considered, some other European country could join in.

It is mainly a question of studying the concept of a new combat aircraft (which would replace the Jaguar, Harrier, F-104 and Phantom aircraft after 1990), three new models of helicopters (antisubmarine and antitank warfare and tactical transport) and new types of supersonic tactical missiles (anti-tank and antisurface ships). Italy could participate in an agreement concerning one of the three helicopters in question.

Problems relating to such arms agreements among countries whose industries are highly developed are often difficult to resolve. Ministers must strive not only to reconcile the viewpoints of their general staffs--whose requirements with respect to the features, production time and performance of equipment differ--but also to eliminate any rivalries among the constructors concerned who can claim that because of their technological know-how they are able to supervise the establishment of any program under consideration without any help from any other partner.

Apart from these tripartite discussions, France and the FRG have agreed on a joint plan for a new tank which would replace the present AMX-30 and Leopard-2 tanks. As for Great Britain, it has decided--in fact, for industrial reasons--not to cooperate with Paris and Bonn in this sphere and it has launched out into a national tank program.

CSO: 3100

FRANCE

BRIEFS

RADAR SYSTEM TRANSFER--For security reasons, the French Army has decided to move part of its radar system in the Antilles from Martinique to Saint-Barthelemy, an island with a population of 3,000, almost all of whom are white. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 10 Mar 80 p 43]

CSO: 3100

LABOR PARTY SECRETARY LEVERAAS DISCUSSES 1981 ELECTION ISSUES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 21 Jan 80 p 5

[Article by Pal Nordenborg: "Party Secretary Ivar Leveraas--Optimist in Spite of Everything"]

[Text] We cannot deny that 1979 was not exclusively a bright year for the Labor Party. But it is equally clear that in today's Norway there is no real political alternative to the Labor Party and the policy the government is conducting.

And with the extremely demanding tasks the country is confronted with, politics does involve some things which from a party point of view lead to stresses. But I am still optimistic with regards to the parliamentary election in 1981, and we work with victory as a goal for the Labor Party. I will most emphatically emphasize that the possibilities are there, even if the task is not simple.

It is the Labor Party's Secretary Ivar Leveraas who says this. ARBEIDERBLADET has had a conversation with him on the situation for the Labor Party now, 4 months after the municipal and county elections.

About the support for the Labor Party in the future he says:

"It is the Labor Party's handicap that it does not have the same strong connection to trade groups in service fields as among people from industry, construction and installation, small farmers and fishermen.

"But the Labor Party cannot start courting new groups with special favorable offers. The problem is to build up an alliance for ordinary people which sees the social democracy as its best alternative."

About the prospects for the election in 1981 Leveraas says:

"The political mobility in the population gives the Labor Party the same strong chances for winning a majority as previously. But these quick changes

also make life more difficult for the Labor Party." About the last municipal and county election he says that it gave the Labor Party some more old experience: wherever work was carried out actively in the party organization the result was good.

About the collaboration with the Federation of Trade Unions he says:

"With regard to the jobs, the Labor Party can only approach the new trade groups through the trade-political collaboration with the Federation of Trade Unions. The Labor Party's own area of operation is the residence area and the local environment, where it can reach all trade and age groups."

The Government, the Federation of Trade Unions and the Party collaborate on the Work Program.

The most important preparations for the parliamentary election, the Labor Party's new doctrine program the the work program for the period 1981-85 have already been started. An outline of the doctrine program is being discussed in the party organizations. It is assumed that a draft of a program will be sent out early in the fall of 1980. Immediately afterwards a presentation will be sent out in connection with the work program so that the two can be discussed together.

"The doctrine program is furthest along. With regard to the work program, the development of it will go parallel with the government's own planning. Both the trade movement and the party will participate in the government's discussions," says Ivar Leveraas.

The Labor Party's basic organizations are now also processing a debate presentation on taxes, which is associated with the government proposals on personal taxation. According to Leveraas, the Labor Party considers the tax problem to be important in connection with the election. And it is therefore desirable through the advice which has been sent out to get a reaction to the tax presentation in view of possible adjustments before the final proposal is presented by the government.

Safe Jobs

"In your opinion what should the doctrine program emphasize most?"

"Personally I am most occupied by the nearby political tasks in the future. And I have no doubt what problems will concern people most in the 1980's: safe jobs. In the hard climate we are entering, the distribution of work and income will be central. We will be forced to discuss the distribution between what we produce collectively and what the individual gets back from society.

"We must also break down the high barriers between the youth groups, the general adult population and pensioners and those on social security. We

have probably to a too great extent ignored the fact that the physical and mental form is in relatively good shape in many pensioned people and that many would like to use their strength for a meaningful contribution for still a few years.

"The democracy in labor must be continued, and the doctrine program must also clarify thoroughly how dependent we are on each other internationally."

The Service Industries Are Handicapped

"Big changes have taken place in the population socially and professionally. What does this mean for the support for the Labor Party?"

"Our point of departure has been that the party has had its traditional alliances in industry, construction and installation and among small farmers and fishermen. Formerly they represented enough weight to make the Labor Party a strong party. But the occupational picture has gradually changed. We have experienced a strong growth in service industries, such as commerce, bank and insurance, education, health and social services and other public services within the state and the municipalities.

"It is important for the party to keep the support from its earlier voter base at the same time as we look for support from the new groups in the economy. But here we must admit the Labor Party's handicap. Today we do not have the same strong association with these new groups as we have had with others. This is something we ourselves do not have much influence over either. We cannot select special groups to court with special offers. Our task is to build up an alliance for ordinary people who see the social democracy as their best alternative.

"Now I believe that the 'new' groups have essentially the same interest as the 'old' groups, for instance, housing and education. But our task as a party is to break the limitations for the new groups and get them to join in the formation of the policy. This is important by itself. If the new policy is to unite, they themselves must participate in shaping it."

The Question of Name Is Not Important

"Some people believe that the Labor Party should change its name to fit in with the white-collar class?"

"The question of a name is not important. The time is past when somebody felt that the concept of laborer was a problem. If you look at the broad groups of laborers and white-collar employees, then their fundamental position at work with respect to job conditions, wages and codetermination has been changed considerably. At a place of work almost everybody today consider themselves to be in the same boat.

"And you cannot tell from the outside of the door anymore whether it is a worker or a white-collar employee who lives inside. This social melting

pet process which has taken place has gone both ways. The white-collar worker does not feel at a distance from the worker, while the worker is changing professionally more than before.

"But neither must we ignore the fact that the lower threshold between the social groups has led to greater political mobility. However, I must agree with Olof Palme when he interprets this new situation as follows: the possibilities for winning a majority are just as strong as before, but we are also living more dangerously.

"This means that the possibilities for losing are obviously also stronger than before due to the faster changes. We must try to turn this mobility to our advantage before the parliamentary elections in 1981. I do not consider it impossible that we may have an election as in 1977."

"But last year was not a good year for the Labor Party?"

"Generally it was not. But the fact that the Labor Party had a good result in the municipal and county election in 1979 wherever the effort was good confirms the experience the Labor Party has always had: wherever we actively try to get people to join us, it works. This was proven in the last election where the party made progress in 30 percent of the municipalities. Practical work in the party organizations gives results. But there is nobody else who can perform for us; it is only the total organization which can."

Questions of Conscience Have Created Front Lines

"Moral and value questions have characterized the political debate. What importance has that had for the Labor Party?"

"The entire 1970's has shown that discussions and attitudes in this field, for one thing in connection with self-determined pregnancy interruption, have helped create front lines between the Labor Party and Christian and religious groups, which have obscured a broader coincidence of ethical values.

"Both for supporters and opponents of self-determined abortion, abortion has been a question of conscience. And, of course, I do not want to underestimate the differences in the points of view between those who support the mother's right to interrupt a pregnancy and those who oppose it. But in a society where we are confronted with tasks of a nature which should unite all who feel mutually dependent, this discussion on abortion has probably drawn attention away from the solution of other tasks."

"Can the party's stand on the abortion law be changed?"

"The Labor Party's stand in this case was formed through a program debate which extended over 8 years from the time the first proposals were made on

such a law. Our stand has been discussed so thoroughly that I assume no changes will be made in it now. And here I want to say that the experience with the new law is such that the fear which others had that the abortion numbers would go sky high is unfounded.

"A great deal of unfortunate heirloom lies between the Church and the labor movement. Historically it is probably the Church which has placed itself on the side of the labor movement and not the message of the Church. The labor movement's policy is of course the sum of what we stand for--and in our ranks there are tens of thousands of Christian people who consider it the most natural thing in the world to be in the Labor Party."

The Labor Party As a Residence Organization

"The Labor Party is looking for new groups. How do you look at the party's relationship to the Federation of Trade Unions in this connection?"

"The new groups we have talked about can also be found to a great extent within the federation of Trade Unions and the trade movement. Within the close collaboration between the Labor Party and the Federation of Trade Unions it is inconceivable that the party can have direct collaboration with organizations outside the Federation of Trade Unions.

"It is equally inconceivable that the Labor Party can build up an organization at a place of work where one can find these people in another connection than through the trade movement. For the party it is important that they can be found as individual people in a close environment. This is where we have all age and trade groups. And, of course, I see a strong residence organization through our party layers as the only path we can go."

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CSO: 3108

BRIEFS

FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY CONGRESS--"The first party congress in the National People's Party was a settlement with neo-Nazis and rightist-extremists and was not a national meeting in Hitler's spirit," the party's chairman Erik Blucher tells AFTENPOSTEN. At the party congress he himself was strongly against immigration from the Third World. The new party is against NATO and wants a joint front against the Third World instead of today's conflict between East and West. The appointment of new party leadership was presented for approval for the party congress on Grefsenkollen. Arne Nettet from Oslo has become the new vice chairman, while Geir Ernst is the chairman in the National Youth. Georg Farre is secretary and Tor Petter Hadland is leader of the foreign department. Ole Kristian Olsen is secretary in the National Youth and Bitten Chr. Lunde is editor of NASJONALISTEN. Country leaders: Bastian Heide, Oslo, Knut Gjerde, Buskerud, Ole K Olsen, Vestfold, Arne Eriksen, Telemark, Olav Langand, Agder, Gunnar Krebs, Hordaland. District leader for Asker and Baerum, Jan Odegard. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 Jan 80 p 28] 8958

CSO: 3108

REPORT SPECULATES ON A SOARES PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Feb 80 p 10

[Article by Hermano Alves, special correspondent]

[Text] Lisbon--How about Mario Soares as a candidate for the presidency of the republic, with the backing of his opponents? The question is valid, since it was the object of discussion at a meeting last weekend in Lisbon of leaders of the PSD (Social Democratic Party) led by prime minister Francisco Sa Carneiro.

A 17-page document was the basis for debate on the strategy of the PSD and, by extension, the CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] led by Prof Diogo Freitas do Amaral, minister of foreign affairs.

The document was considered confidential and received the secrecy treatment, which means (to be cynical) that at least four or five participants promptly removed copies and sent them to friends. One of these copies, for example, reached the Office of the Presidency of the Republic where, unless it got lost in the bureaucratic maze, Gen Antonio Ramalho Eanes may have examined it carefully.

The document states that the very "political future" of the Democratic Alliance, formed by the PSD, the CDS, the Popular Monarchist Party [PPM] and former Socialist "reformists," will depend on the elections for the presidency of the republic.

It describes the present situation in Portugal as a struggle between advocates of a liberal anti-Marxist democracy and a military group comprising President Eanes and members of the Revolutionary Council, particularly Major Melo Antunes (former foreign affairs minister and president of the Constitutional Commission), with the support of the Communist Party and the left wing of the PS [Socialist Party].

At the end of this year, more precisely in October and November, there will be a new election for the Assembly of the Republic. According to the law, the presidential election should be held 30 days after that. For the time being, no candidate has yet been found who is prepared to run against General Eanes, despite all the speculations in the military sector.

Ironically, with the support of Col Mario Firmino Miguel and as a signer of the Document of the Eleven, drafted by Major Antunes, it was General Eanes who applied the brakes to revolutionary leftism in Portugal (in which communist sectors also played a part) in November 1975.

However, General Eanes, always seeking to maintain discipline in the barracks and equilibrium among the political forces, came into conflict with the prime minister, Francisco Sa Carneiro.

There is a personal aspect to this dispute, but there is also an ideological element. The Portuguese constitution, which Ramalho Eanes has sworn to uphold, says that the country's goal is democratic socialism. The Democratic Alliance line promotes constitutional reform, looking toward a neocapitalism, with social concerns, certainly, but inspired by the Christian Socialist model of Franz Joseph Strauss, in Germany, and also by the policies of Margaret Thatcher's conservatives, in England.

Thus Eanes, who had been situated at the center, has come to be seen as a leftist president, while Major Antunes, most of the members of the Revolutionary Council and others are accused of following a "Third World" line and of dealing with the communists. In its situation report, the PSD considers that the major problem is still the PS--led by Mario Soares, who lost the elections and is immersed in an internal struggle among "historic" socialists, "technocrats," Marxists and anti-Marxists.

Strategy

What is the PSD strategy with respect to the PS?

The document says there are three paths to take. The first would be to promote a polarization of the left and right, lumping socialists and communists, even though they do not wish to be grouped (the socialists led the struggle against the communists in the "hot summer of 1975).

The second possibility is to exploit all the existing disagreements in the PS and on the left (including the communists), without any attempt to come together with any of these factions. The third path, which was expressly recommended, suggests a civilian candidacy originating in the Socialist Party, which would have the support of the Democratic Alliance and would challenge General Eanes.

For this, the socialist candidate and his party, purged of the Marxists and other unreliable elements, would have to pledge themselves to revision of the constitution, abjuring Marxism in the party platform, with a generally "anticollectivist" policy, and so on. In exchange, the presidency might even be offered to Mario Soares, while the PS would fill "periferal" posts and positions.

The major problem with this suggestion is that it represents only the aspirations of a group of Social Democrats close to Prime Minister Sa Carneiro,

whose relations with President Eanes have been difficult. Mario Soares would certainly not be disposed to take on a role that would mean dividing his party for good and assuming a secondary status. Nor are there any signs that the CDS or the PPM were previously consulted, and it is almost certain that a large group of centrists would reject such a formula.

The immediate effect of these speculations, spelled out in the document, is to make relations between Sa Carneiro and President Eanes even more difficult. Another effect would be to strengthen the communists, who (if things continue as they are going) could take 20 to 25 percent of the votes in the next elections for the Assembly of the Republic, and some say as much as 30 percent. Finally, it reinforces the left wing (formed by "historic" socialists and republicans) of the PS, which is astounded that the name of Mario Soares is being considered by his adversaries of yesterday.

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CSO: 3101

GOVERNMENT'S ATTACKS ON RC AIMED AT PRESIDENT EANES

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Feb 80 pp 13, 14

[Article by Jorge Wernans: "Government Takes Aim at Eanes Through the Council of the Revolution"]

[Text] The existence of a constant conflict between the government, supported by its parliamentary majority, and the Council of the Revolution has been sustained with various attitudes and in connection with several issues, in an attempt, not only to discredit the institutional representatives of the "April Captains," but also, and especially, to keep the controversy alive with the president of the Republic, the real target of the petty palace issues that we have been witnessing.

This dispute, whose history is already long, ranging from the accusation of promoting "parallel policies," to the statement that "the conduct of foreign policy does not come under the jurisdiction of the Council of the Revolution," to an alteration of the decrees pertaining to the 10 June and Congress of the Communities commemorations, and including the refusal to appoint Captain Sousa e Castro to preside over the 25 April commemorations, has acquired forums of ideological and institutional guerrilla warfare with the use by a certain press of the "personal political" statements made by some of the military personnel on the CR [Council of the Revolution], attributing them to the responsibility of that constitutional body.

In proceeding in that way, the controversy over opinions is magnified, front-page honors are given to ideological differences and personal attacks are encouraged, exploiting actively the small fire that is producing so much smoke: the real difference in political opinion between members of the CR and the present majority.

The press partial to AD [Democratic Alliance] bases itself on this situation to build up a conflict between organs or sovereignty that, basically, does not exist as the explicit (or implicit!) desire of the above-mentioned Council of the Revolution, because in the field of its constitutional activity, this council only has decision-making power on military agreements and on adjustment of the military mechanism to the measures of the other

organs of sovereignty or also on a study of the legality and constitutionality of decrees to be issued.

The conflict mentioned above has not been developing in this field of decision-making by the CR. This would suffice to prove that the CR does not intend, as a constitutional body, to make the government's activity difficult. This statement does not appear to be true in the opposite direction, because, in addition to keeping trials of intent alive against some of the council members, the present executive branch has not used using its legal powers to strengthen the existence of a conflict by rejecting measures proposed by the president of the Republic (and that he had submitted to the CR for evaluation and had received a favorable opinion there).

It is a conflict in which the adversary is not primarily the Council of the Revolution, whose function is to advise the president of the Republic in these matters, but, rather, General Eanes.

In an interview given to Radio Renascenca, Sa Carneiro would say no more when he differentiated between the CR and the personal opinions of the council members and when he indicated the existence of a "difference in the analysis of the situation" between the government and Eanes, although he believed that this difference "is not dramatic."

Interests at Stake

After having stated the terms of the problem in that way, we should examine the advantages that AD is trying to derive from a magnification of that "conflict." A few ideas-forces that apparently are guiding the strategy of the present majority and that make two main objectives clear stem from the attitudes and actions undertaken.

First of all, it is a question of utilizing "ideological and institutional guerrilla warfare" as a way of backing up aspects of governing whose effects are not especially popular, in response simultaneously to the "spirit of revenge" of more conservative areas of AD, although at the expense and annoyance of the reformers, keeping in the fore the need for a revision of the Constitution as a solution to the conflicts that are "preventing" effective government action.

But, more important than this, although related to it, is the objective of preventing Eanes from becoming a candidate for reelection by destroying his image, by creating beforehand scenarios of conflict for all his initiatives, forcing him to express himself and act always in an antigovernment position.

In view of the fact that, dialectically, the opposition appears to defend or not to be hostile to GEN Ramalho Eanes, these scenarios of conflict also make it possible to demonstrate that he is not president of all the Portuguese people. See the commentary by Angelo Correia on the press conference held by LCOL Vitor Alves.

The basic reasons for the "quarrels in which the government does not want to be involved" are preparation for the presidential election, without neglecting the legislative elections in which AD may in fact demand maintenance of the present state of affairs, and opposition by other organs of sovereignty that did not allow it to govern as it proposed. This last-mentioned argument can be used through a request for the government to resign on the eve of the elections or even a little sooner. This possibility may take shape as the sixth government increases "change" to the detriment of "moderation," because no government in office is going to proceed to make many "changes" in the machinery of state.

The emergence of a presidential candidate, victorious at the start, is becoming all the more difficult as AD continues to close off dialog with Ramalho Eanes, who, it should not be forgotten, will be the most serious contender, in case he should announce his candidacy, and he may obtain the votes of the majority of voters.

Nevertheless, the crucial point is considerably important. Not only because of the possible differences in AD in connection with this issue. Because of what has been said above and also owing to other factors, Eanes appears to be the candidate who will win the forthcoming presidential election. Unless GEN Ramalho Eanes ceases to function as a stabilizer of the Armed Forces, giving rise to the emergence of another military candidate, or is held responsible for whitewashing the "social agitation" in which the opposition may become involved.

Eanes will be led to desist from running for reelection only if one of these possibilities materializes. Also because, by reaction to pressure from AD, he will probably have, as he has shown, greater conviction in the role that he believes necessary to be carried out as president of the Republic.

The presidential race, therefore, is connected with revision of the Constitution, because no candidate can run with the decision to swear obedience to this Constitution -- which naturally will still be in effect when the new president of the Republic is inaugurated -- and not pronounce himself on the new Constitution that he will be ready to respect and enforce. Therefore, the presidential candidate has to be at least in tune with a majority in the Assembly.

Here, naturally, AD has the advantage, although it is not foreseeable that it will have two-thirds of the deputies elected to the Assembly of the Republic to be elected this October. In it, it will be unable, also, to submit its own revision of the Constitution as the one that is appropriate, but it will have, however, sufficient strength to prevent changes that are out of line with the ones that it is attempting to introduce.

Finally, and once more, April will surely be a time for initial clarification of these and other matters. Until then, intentions and tactics will continue to be established. After April, moves leading to putting strategies in concrete form will occur.

MSD AGREEABLE TO SOCIALISTS' 'FRONT' POLICY

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Feb 80 pp 13, 14

[Article by Jose Castelo: "MSD Regards Agreement With Socialists Desirable"]

[Text] The stand taken recently by the Socialist Party in its last National Committee meeting to seek the establishment of a broad front capable of welding together forces and prominent individuals in the same political area, although they may be to the right or to the left, seems to be beginning to acquire unmistakable influence. At least it is being received favorably by various organizations and prominent individuals regarded separately.

The Social Democratic Movement (MSD) is among the organizations of a political nature that view this "opening" by the PS with favor. It regards it as not only useful, but also desirable and necessary. This understanding, which was transmitted to us by Dr Sa Borges, a prominent MSD leader and former minister of Labor, is based not only on reasons of an ideological nature, but also very especially on the stand taken by active members of this movement with regard to the present government.

Sa Borges, who clearly expresses the opinion that democracy is not intimately connected solely with free elections every 4 years and who believes that "the right is served by many men with ideas and a mode of life forged in the light of the former regime," believes that it would be bad for the country for AD (Democratic Alliance) to have an absolute majority in the coming elections, because its logic might lead to an authoritarian attitude politically, accompanied by a plan for capitalist concentration and cultural control, although under the guise of democracy.

Although, according to Sa Borges, the AD government is not going to show its real interests during the next few months, with the prospect of elections, certain signs, like the consequences of a revalorization of the escudo or the stand taken with regard to projects of foreign enterprises in Portugal, they will not fail to make their political position clear, thus making obvious to the voters their desire to defend a model that gives priority to a specific system of development giving preference to economic

aspects over action in the social and cultural fields, and that may result especially in exploitation of cheap Portuguese manpower by foreigners.

In view of the danger of "consolidation of the right, with the risk of interpreting the exercise of government authority in terms of an authoritarianism incompatible with an actual democracy, although using the guise of defense of freedoms," and of a model of economic development incapable of satisfying the needs of the people, San Borges believes that it is not enough to wait with our hands in our pockets for AD to be defeated in the forthcoming elections, so that persons may perceive that it does not keep the promises it makes and that it is necessary to go further and weld together the efforts of all those who, with the PS, may form a broad front, including especially ASDI [expansion unknown] and UEDS [Union of the Social Democratic Left], in addition to organizations of a social nature or others and independent persons.

The initiative for this agreement will, however, have to come from the Socialist Party as the force with the largest representation. It is true that, so far, the decision taken in the last meeting of the National Committee has not yet taken concrete shape, at least with regard to the Social Democratic Movement.

With regard to the MSD, which is awaiting the initiative by the PS in connection with the foregoing, it has no requisites for dialog or reticence with regard to possible organizations to the left of that party that will be in a common political area and that want to subscribe to a same agreement, but solely the provision that a platform of understanding, constructed by the determined effort of the ones accepting it, be found through discussion.

The reach and effect of the agreement will also depend on the course of the negotiations. Dr Sa Borges believes that it is highly desirable for the agreement to be as broad as possible, so that all the organizations and persons subscribing to it will feel that they are committed to the same objectives, because "the time has come for all those who are in the same political area to lay their cards on the table, in order to achieve the broadest possible agreement."

Although the PS proposal merits an attitude of great opening on the part of MSD, the same is not true in connection with the recent statements by Dr Carlos Macedo, leader of the Social Democratic Party, who stated that he viewed with favor the possibility for dissidents from that political organization to return to its fold. In the opinion that the PSD political proposal it being adulterated, Dr Sa Borges told us that Carlos Macedo's statement does not give rise to any special enthusiasm in persons who have joined the Social Democratic Movement.

Independently of his predisposition to an agreement with the PS and with other forces that may form a valid, coherent alternative to the Democratic Alliance, Dr Sa Borges pointed out to us that he and other MSD leaders

were not disposed toward joining the PS, because they believed that their political activity in society was more useful in the manner in which it is being conducted at present. Nevertheless, according to what he told us, this attitude does not involve a profession of faith in the more distant future, stating, in this connection: "In the PS there are people more to the left than the UEDS and more to the right than the MSD, and they are all in the same party. We may change, the PS may change, and then we shall see."

Naturally, development of this possibility, not yet explored deeply, of an understanding between the PS and forces to its left and right may change the political chessboard, at least by influencing in increasing the credibility of a specific political, economic and social project.

The Social Democratic Movement, in which the best known names at present are Sa Borges, Fernando Mascarenhas, Vasco Ribeiro Ferreira, Mello Biscaia, Leal da Silva and Jose Bracinha Vieira (because others, like Jose Augusto Seabra, withdrew several months ago to join the Independent Civic Committee), may, thus, together with other forces, play an important part in giving concrete shape to the socialists' proposal.

10,042

CSO: 3101

NEW 'REFORMIST' YOUTH GROUP ISSUES MANIFESTO

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Feb 80 p 3

[Text] The creation of the Reformist Youth [JR], an independent organization, but faithful to the spirit of the Reformist Manifesto, was announced yesterday, at a press conference during which a proclamation entitled "Challenge for the Future" was distributed. The new association advocates an orientation toward "socialization of Portuguese society."

"The reformists' aim," the manifesto states, "is to build a real and proper political, social, economic and cultural democracy, consolidated in the reforms we advocate for the development and revalorization of the regime and the national community, and for the promotion of the Portuguese citizen at all levels, with emphasis on the indispensable reinforcement of civilian society."

"On the international plane, as a sovereign and independent people, we are prepared to contribute to the construction of an honorable civilization, asserting our role as a major national power in the modern community, and to strengthen the transcontinental ties that unite us to Africa and the Americas."

Following an ideological definition of the new movement, the manifesto detailed some proposals that "Could come to win wide consensus, incorporating a large current of public opinion among youth."

Noteworthy proposals included promotion of "the democratic revitalization of the youth association movement, autonomous and independent of any partisan or ideological guardianship," "direct participation of youth in the definition of an education policy," broad debate on the problems of youth and "on the new challenges facing the national community as a whole" (particularly European integration) and the elaboration of "Youth Guides".

The JR also proposes to "put an end to the predominantly urban composition of youth groups, through the real participation of regional youth."

With regard to government and education activity, the JR intends to promote, through means including legislative initiatives to be introduced by deputies with whom it identifies, reforms ranging "from the creation of worthy school installations to the debureaucratization of education services and support for the various educational levels."

They also demand "the creation of an educational system geared to social interests, decentralized and based on regionalization of services and of technical and higher-learning institutions; the creation of special schools for continuing education, which will require coordination and interaction between the government, the universities and business, bearing in mind the importance of professional training for youth and the difficulties in entering the labor market."

Social Orientation

The JR currently has a Political Directorate, "composed of a group of young people from various backgrounds," and some working groups. The directorate includes Joao Goncalves, Cristina Abreu (candidate for deputy from Setubal), Rui Cristovao, Fernando Trigo and Rui Casimiro. The first four were present at the press conference.

The movement's political orientation was defined by Rui Cristovao as "socialist-oriented, in the area of social democracy and experiments in socialism," explicitly rejecting "regressive positions" and radicalism of any kind.

Although autonomous, the JR maintains "organic solidarity with the reformists." According to members of the directorate, however, it is entirely independent of the AD [Democratic Alliance]. On the other hand, it will allow for "specific understandings" with other youth groups when there are situations or goals to be discussed.

Regarding the possibility of forming a party, they explained that they do not consider this to be a primary issue; they seek first to "intensify forms of association that will nurture democracy."

Deputy Vasconcelos Abreu and Pelagio Madureira attended the press conference. Abreu told DIARIO DE NOTICIAS that the signatories of the Reformist Manifesto have no plans to launch another (nonyouth) organization.

6362

CSO: 4401

IRON ORE MINE TO BE REOPENED IN 1983

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Feb 80 p 2

[Text] Exploitation of the Moncorvo iron mines should begin in the latter part of 1983, when the second blast furnace will go into operation at National Steel in Seixal. The furnace will produce 1 million tons of steel a year.

Part of the National Steel Plan, the Moncorvo project was the subject of a meeting in the Order of Engineers in Porto. The project is divided into two phases. In the first phase, to begin in 1983, about 1.5 million tons of iron ore should be mined annually.

In the second phase, which will begin when an industrial blast furnace goes into operation in Sines, 3 million tons of iron ore will be extracted annually.

Meanwhile, it was announced at that meeting, the government has named an interministerial commission which will, in 4 months' time, present a study for the transport of the ore from Moncorvo to National Steel.

With the beginning of the second phase, the TRAS-OS-MONTES mines will be in a position to supply about 70 percent of the steel needed for domestic consumption. Except for a small percentage of imported ore, the rest will be met with the sinter from the exploitation of the Alentejo pyrites.

FERROMINAS (public enterprise) will invest 8.66 million contos in the Moncorvo project, 50 percent of which will be spent on equipment, 26 percent on construction of installations and 24 percent on miscellaneous expenditures. Some 43 percent of the investment will be spent in Moncorvo on the installation of infrastructures for the extraction and removal of the ore, and the rest will be invested in Seixal, where the laboratories and ore treatment plants will be installed.

ASDI TO CONTINUE ORGANIZATION EFFORT

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jan 80 p 3

[Text] The ASDI (Independent Social Democratic Action) has reiterated its readiness to enter into dialog with other political forces, looking to the next elections. The ASDI organizing committee, which met several days ago, emphasizes, however, that the ASDI is and will continue to be committed to the pursuit of its independent political project, which is social democracy.

Moreover, the ASDI is giving "absolute priority" to the task of organizing to wage an effective battle for social democracy.

"Within a framework of alternative proposals, the organizing committee is giving authentic expression to the will of the Portuguese people," the association notes, "affirming their part in the decisive political period of the yearend elections" and also in the revision of the constitution.

Regarding future agreements, the ASDI reaffirms its readiness to conduct a dialog. "Bearing in mind the present strategy of alliances and the functioning of the present electoral system," the ASDI will, "when it feels the time is right, take appropriate steps to promote dialog among the democratic forces, and even the creation of alternative policies for the joining of forces."

The ASDI organizing committee feels, however, that "the possibility of an electoral front depends on a harmonization of programs in a realistic, moderate and effective line, one based on economic, social and cultural democracy and, with respect to political democracy, one that could constitute a stable alternative, open to the progress of Portuguese society and in the legitimate service of the Portuguese people, particularly the workers."

Regarding the next presidential election, the ASDI also reiterates its support for a candidate that will assure the stability and progress of Portugal, the consolidation of a democratic regime and the peaceful passage of the armed forces under the full control of the civilian government.

6362

CSO: 3101

SPAIN ASSURED CRUDE OIL SUPPLIES FOR 1980

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 19 Feb 80 p 53

[Article by Alberto Valverde: "Petroleum Supplies Guaranteed for 1980"]

[Text] Following the steps taken by Prime Minister Suarez in Iraq and the previous ones taken in the name of King Juan Carlos in Saudi Arabia, Spain is virtually guaranteed crude oil supplies for 1980. The assurances received from Venezuela during the meeting between delegations of the two countries in Tenerife last weekend finally completed the framework for assured supplies of crude oil for our country throughout the current year.

The estimates made by EL PAIS based on the agreements completed over the past 2 months make it possible to assure that full supplies of crude oil are guaranteed. Furthermore, the sources consulted add, despite their caution in providing details of the petroleum bill for 1980 in which not even the 3 percent of the total imports talked of during the recent steps taken by Prime Minister Suarez during his trip to Iraq, has been left out.

On the other hand, unofficial sources note that the absolute necessity of being assured of crude oil supplies made it necessary to modify a few aspects of the national fuel plan which established the Ministry of Commerce's quota at 45 percent of total supplies. But that quota has been raised to 60 percent so as wholly to guarantee the needs for crude oil and presumably to avoid having happen what did occur during the final months of 1979 when many private enterprises and state refineries had to resort to the spot market and face up in this way to the disruptions caused in the supplying and distribution in Spain of consumer petroleum products.

The two most important contacts negotiated directly or in their name by the heads of state and government were those recently signed with Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The former country has committed itself to providing 50,000 additional barrels a day on top of the 100,000 previously negotiated with that country. Saudi Arabia will supply a total of 7.5 million barrels of crude oil representing 15 percent of the total amount required in addition to the approximately 5,500,00 barrels that will come through private refineries.

In Iraq's case this country committed itself during the recent trip by the prime minister to supply 2,250,000 tons of crude oil to Spain on top of the 5,000,000 already promised. In all, Iraqi crude oil supplies will amount to 7,250,000 barrels of crude oil which once again makes this country Spain's second-ranking petroleum supplier. One assumes this amount will be greater if private imports are included.

So, between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Spain has a guarantee for at least 40 percent of the 51,000,000 tons of crude oil that it will import during 1980 in accordance with the national fuel plan. With respect to Spain's third-ranking supplier of crude oil, Libya, a contract is about to be signed doubling the previous 500,000 barrels which PETROLIBER had assigned to it. So in all it is to be hoped that Libya will definitely supply some 5.5 million barrels (including HISPANOIL's 4.5 million), although it is not certain that this amount may not be slightly less in the light of the high price of this crude oil and that country's policy of reducing its production.

Venezuelan Supplies Guaranteed

As for Venezuela, Prime Minister Suarez stated last Saturday following his meeting in Tenerife with the president of the Venezuelan Republic, Luis Herrera Campins, that assured crude oil supplies from that country were guaranteed. Spain has a four-party agreement signed with it in which Cuba and the Soviet Union are joining that will make it possible to obtain some 2.2 million barrels a year.

This year the supplies agreed upon with Mexico, which should come to 7.5 million barrels (3,000,000 from HISPANOIL, another 3,000,000 from CEPESA and 1,500,000 from PETRONOR), seem less certain. Internal production problems, plus larger supplies to the United States as a result of the reduction in Iranian exports, will prevent this amount from being attained and, on the contrary, it may be perceptibly reduced.

With Iran too a PETRONOR agreement was obtained last December with the NIOC [National Iranian Oil Company], the national Iranian petroleum enterprise, now that this country's production stability has been partly restored making it possible to stabilize supplies coming from that country formerly one of the main crude oil exporters to Spain.

The Price Problem

Although the major Spanish problem of the petroleum issue has still not been officially recognized, it will not be that of supplies this year, but rather that of price. More specifically, including the issue of how to distribute the heavy financial burden which payment of imported crude oil will mean, its cost will doubtless be virtually double the \$6,800,000,000 paid in 1979.

A month ago and prior to the series of price increases which began after the \$2 a barrel rise for Saudi oil, the government figures that the average

cost of an imported barrel would be some \$27.5. This estimate was modified after the \$2 increase by the Saudis and that advocated thereafter by the radical OPEC member countries, which was an average of \$4.

This caused a barrel to go from \$24 to \$26 for Saudi crude oil and from \$30 to \$34 (and even to \$37 with the surcharge of \$3 for new well investments) for Nigerian and Algerian crude oil. Since Spain imports more crude oil from the moderate than from the radical countries, it is estimated that the average price of an imported barrel will not exceed \$29.50, or at least not during the first half of the year. Nonetheless, this estimate is only an indication since it could be exceeded if the present calm, including the depression existing on the world petroleum market, is shattered by new increases something that cannot be discarded for the second half of the year.

In any event, government calculations of the 1980 petroleum bill, around \$11 billion, will have to be dismissed as overoptimistic. Closer to reality are those of \$12 to 12½ billion taking into account the uncertainties of the second half of the year.

The government considers that this petroleum bill will be easily assimilated despite the fact that it will cause the excess in the balance of trade from the current account to disappear and provoke a deficit estimated at some \$2½ billion. Nor is the way to make up for this deficit thought to be problematical and if it is not achieved by an appropriate stimulus to exports and to an inflow of capital, use will be made of the reserves whose amount (over \$13 billion) is up to a certain point regarded as excessive.

8094

CSO: 3110

ALGERIANS SHOW RENEWED INTEREST IN GAS PIPELINE

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 19 Feb 80 p 55

[Article by Manuel Ostos: "The Algerian Government Is Interested in Reactivating the Gas Pipeline with Spain"]

[Text] The Algerian Government, it appears, has expressed a desire to have the trans-Mediterranean pipeline project, SEGAMO [Western Mediterranean Gas Pipeline Surveying Company], which is to connect Algeria with Spain at a date that still remains to be determined, completed. This is deduced from the consultations maintained in Algiers by the Algerian Government's minister of energy, Habi Belkacem, with the ambassador of Federal Germany, during which the latter country's possible association with the three parties making up the SEGAMO consortium, SONATRACH, Algerian; ENAGAS [National Gas Enterprise], Spanish; and Gaz de France, French.

The building of a gas pipeline between Algeria and Spain with an extension to France and other European countries is an old project that has not as yet gone beyond the phase of surveying the seabed. The three above-mentioned enterprises organized SEGAMO to carry out the project's preliminary surveys.

SEGAMO, in which the Spanish side is participating to the extent of 25 percent of its capital, entrusted to the French SOFREGAZ [French Gas Surveying Company] the making of a detailed survey of the sea depths along the initially considered layout running from Ued-Mellah in Algeria to Almeria.

For the Algerians the gas pipeline did not have top priority to the extent that most of the efforts have been devoted to work on the first trans-Mediterranean gas pipeline, the initial pipe laying of which was inaugurated last 18 June by President Chadli Bendjedid in the Hassi R'mel extracting area.

This other gas pipeline is intended to connect Algeria and Italy via Tunisia and the Strait of Messina, 2,498 kilometers long and with a capacity of 8,300 cubic meters a year. Its entry into service is expected toward the end of 1981 and the "cruising rate" of its exports (12,400,000,000 cubic meters a year) should be attained by 1985.

According to reports from diplomatic sources in Algiers, the reactivation of the SEGAMO gas pipeline could be the result of an analysis of the consequences which a possible political destabilization of Tunisia because of the recent Gafsa events would cause. Algeria is afraid that Tunisia through which the gas pipeline is to run, may be the setting for serious internal political tension. With the result that even considering the hypothetical character of these fears and their impact on the project in question, a keener interest has arisen to reactivate the SEGAMO project. The possible participation by Federal Germany in the Algero-Franco-Spanish consortium would lend it broader dimensions and new dynamism.

8094

CSO: 3110

BRIEFS

GOLD, DOLLAR RESERVES INCREASE--This past January Spain's net gold reserves and foreign currency increased by \$258,600,000 according to information from the Bank of Spain. The trend in December, when a drop of \$170,900,000 was recorded, has thus been reversed and the January 1979 results, when Spanish reserves went up by \$179,800,000, were exceeded. With this increase Spain's gold reserves and foreign currency reached a record level of \$13,375,200,000 in contrast to the \$10,195,200,000 of January 1979. However, reliable sources believe it will be hard for the steadily rising trend of Spanish reserves over the past 2 years to continue since in their view the behavior of the balance of payments this year will in all probability show a negative tendency that will naturally be reflected simultaneously in the behavior of the reserves. The reason for this behavior is attributable to the higher cost of petroleum imports. [Text] [Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 20 Feb 80 p 36] 8094

CSO: 3110

FOREIGN POLICY GOES THROUGH SEVERE CRISIS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Feb 80 p 25

[Article by Peter Amstutz: "Aubert's Forcefulness Lacks a Foundation"]

[Text] When he was elected minister by the Federal Councils in December 1977, murmurs of approval swept through the country: Pierre Aubert, the currently 53-year-old Social Democrat from French-speaking Neuenburg, was given the best election result that any Swiss federal councillor has ever been able to score since 1848. Meanwhile, about 2 years have passed, and once again the politically concerned citizens of this small state with its "everlasting neutrality" are marveling at their Pierre Aubert. Because after only twice 12 months of work at the head of the foreign ministry in Bern--which is called in such a nicely complicated way the "Federal Ministry for External Affairs"--Federal Councillor Aubert is sitting on a pile of broken dishes--and he himself has smashed this china.

Rebuff Suffered

That there might be "something" no longer in order in connection with Swiss foreign policy was sensed by the citizens at Aubert's reelection of 5 December of last year. He obtained just 124 votes from the group of 246 National Council and Cantonal Council members. One vote less, and he surely would have had to leave the Combined Federal Assembly as a private citizen. Why this rebuff? When Foreign Minister Aubert was trying to take over the reins in the Bern Bundeshaus, he promised "more forcefulness in foreign policy," he philosophied about "opening up to the world," and he looked forward to the chance to expand the traditional West-East policy of his top diplomats and the North-South point of view which seemed to him very important--in short: He was filled with a zest for action and certainly with the best of intentions as well.

But then there were mishaps. From this forcefulness there came a foreign policy of nervous pathos, often presented in addresses and parliamentary appearances with an almost pitiful helplessness. In place of a smooth

continuity, observers of Aubert found more and more desultoriness, and in the last analysis a "concept" which worried many citizens because of its "global nature." The new foreign minister was venturing something which the majority of the Swiss people gravely fear: He wanted to transfer, perhaps too quickly, the prevailing policy on foreign trade to the stage of a genuine foreign policy. The liberal people's representative (National Council) Ulrich Bremi from Zurich put it this way: "The Swiss citizen has not yet forgotten the trauma of the menace of World War II. The hedgehog attitude has become a part of his consciousness. Today he sees the threat as coming, not from his immediately neighboring countries, but from the leading world powers. A foreign policy which is turned towards the entire world is not likely to meet with much understanding in Switzerland, not even in the future."

Meanwhile, Federal Councillor Aubert cared little about this. He made preparations for the accession of the Swiss Confederation to the United Nations, and before the end of this year he wants to take a chance on the unavoidable plebiscite with this "business." Aubert has also become vigorously active in taking trips, which in turn has generated a growing distrust among his stay-at-home fellow countrymen. His "venture into Africa"--the first appearance of a Swiss foreign minister on this continent--was followed at home by a severe probing and finally by an extended avalanche of criticism. Even the increased number of foreign colleagues received in Switzerland by Aubert has seemed a dubious practice to many Swiss. "There is no reason for a more active inner-European policy," says National Councillor Bremi, for example. And further: "Therefore the visits of European foreign ministers to Switzerland have a slightly folkloristic character about them."

Greater Commitment

Everything of this nature which was smoldering under the covers of nationwide discontent was noticed too late by Pierre Aubert. "Keeping aloof hardly protects us against all crucial tests," he lectured to his fellow citizens. Or again: "Frequently it is a painful realization when we perceive that our political and financial contributions to the community of nations represent the price we must pay for our privileged position in the present world order, from which we derive a considerable advantage in many respects." That this, according to Aubert's credo, also had to lead to a significantly greater commitment to the developmental level worldwide and to the North-South dialog was something which even parliamentarians experienced in foreign-policy matters were very displeased to hear.

Pierre Aubert's obvious endeavor in the Third World to avoid appearing as the leading Swiss traveling salesman, but rather to try to ask only about what in fact Switzerland can do for the well-being and advancement of the developing countries, met with a lack of appreciation in this Alpine country with the highest per-capita income in the world. The

stinging slap in the face of last December's near-nonelection now seems to have forced the luckless minister to take action. He sought for ways to refurbish his domestic prestige--and in doing this he lighted upon State Secretary Albert Weitnauer.

Colleague Sacked

That is to say, this veteran Swiss diplomat, for 40 years active always in the very front lines at home in Bern and in the capitals of the world, was preaching, even in public, quite unmistakably the exact opposite of everything which Aubert was elaborating in the way of key ideas on foreign policy. If the minister wanted to survive, he had to sack his foremost assistant. That now happened: Weitnauer saw himself ordered into premature retirement, to the surprise of the public, some 9 months before the normal termination of his civil service. The administration in Bern tried to sugar-coat his sacking with the following communique: "During his 40 years in the service of the Swiss Confederation, he has carried out every task which has been entrusted to him, always with devotedness and distinction."

But not just this one task: To put a good light on the policy of his new leader, whose strange ideas could not look at all promising, of course, to a career diplomat of the old school. In any case, the worst is probably yet to come for the foreign minister, who showed the door to his outspoken opponent and who is calling to Bern to take his place as policy manager the Swiss ambassador to Washington, Ramond Probst, as of 1 September of this year. With the exception of the Social Democrats, all the parties are speaking now of the "Aubert affair," of a crisis in Swiss foreign policy, and of the danger that already at the next voting, because of implications of developmental aid or even of United Nations membership the voters are likely to pay back "their" foreign minister with a deluge of "no" votes for his "trying to involve neutral Switzerland everywhere." What their preferences are could be read recently by the shaken Minister Aubert in his newspaper: "Neutrality will remain the constant of Swiss foreign policy--a neutrality which, out of a natural unpretentiousness, avoids trying to offer advice or even recommendations to larger countries."

12114

CSO: 3103

IMPLICATIONS OF ARMED NEUTRALITY POLICY DISCUSSED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 21 Feb 80 pp 21, 22

[Report by "Bue" on a speech by Dr Fred Luchsinger at the Institute for Foreign Studies, University of Zurich: "Switzerland--a European Outsider?"]

[Text] The current situation has increased, if anything, the importance of the policy of neutrality for our country, and the crisis of recent weeks is inaugurating a stage "which is governed by a disturbed equilibrium and which makes our defense policy again become the primary concern, after it had been neglected in euphoric notions about detente." This assessment is one of the conclusions of a lecture given by Dr Fred Luchsinger, who discussed the topic "Switzerland--a European Outsider?" on Tuesday evening within the framework of the current series of meetings put on by the Swiss Institute for Foreign Studies at the University of Zurich. In the opinion of the editor of this paper, a decision in favor of the traditional Swiss policy of neutrality would be a sin against duty and the spirit of European solidarity only if there were some other way that we "could do more things, and more appropriate things, for the defense of Europe than we intend to do with our home defense, which indeed would also be a defense--depending on the situation--of important European key positions." What matters, he said, is to safeguard the credibility of our armed neutrality, not merely through an adequate arming for defense, but likewise by refraining from doing anything which could politically compromise it, by "handling it so rigorously in our foreign policy and diplomacy that it cannot be subject to doubts in terms of its good faith."

European Questions and the Current Situation

Luchsinger first of all examined anew some European questions in the light of the present situation, so as to thereupon put in perspective the Swiss-European themes pertaining to these questions. The aim and ambition of Europe's policy following World War II was "to become master of its own affairs once again and as a community of states or even a supra-national community...to lead its own life in security, and

in doing this to work for all-European interests." After a good 30 years of efforts, this aim cannot be viewed as having been realized. Considered as on its own, Europe is not safe, and it remains dependent on all sorts of things which are under the lasting sway of other powers. Also not in particularly good shape is that inner unity with which it was once hoped that the centuries-old rivalries between the European nations could be overcome.

Dependent Continent

This persistent insecurity and dependency of Europe becomes manifest through its dependence on a defense from outside as well as its dependence on supplies of essential energy sources and raw materials from regions of the world and via lines of communication which it itself does not control and cannot protect. Moreover, the security of the continent is also dependent, for example, on the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, but above all on "protection by a capable world power," on American deterrent power in the nuclear as well as conventional sector, on the presence of American troops--which incidentally in addition provides a certain amount of stability for the continually threatened inner equilibrium of Europe.

Recently, certain forces and lines of reasoning have tried to make light of these "old, even if not exactly golden truths" by starting to pursue a policy of detente as an alternative to a policy of security, and by seeking with such a policy an illusory security, the idea being that this dependency on America as a guarantor of security can be circumvented through a policy of European emancipation from America, through a political game of playing "between the two blocs."

But in reality, underscored Luchsinger, a policy of detente cannot be any substitute for a defense policy, but only a complement to it. A "more friendly climate" must not be confused with security; in the last 10 years, the policy of detente has not produced any circumstances which could not be turned around in a very short time. The security of Europe rests as much as ever on the uncalculable risk for the antagonists of their respective deterrent or retaliatory capacities. To be sure, American protection was never an absolute guarantee for Europe, but the "noncalculable nature" of the risk, the uncertainty, which produces or increases an inhibition against drastic steps, nevertheless has always remained effective so far. The low-powered nuclear weapons of France or England could not be relied on to replace the American "deterrent capability." Without this, Europe would "be exposed to the pull of the strongest power on the continent," which with its strategic superiority would also dominate and dictate policy.

Any attempt by Europe to veer into a "neutralist intermediate world" could cause a new isolationism to arise in America, which would want to cancel America's commitment to Europe. In the last analysis, it follows

from this that in terms of the central question of its survival, Europe "could not endure in a way consistent with its will and interests without the mainstay of American power--that is to say, without a close and secure political association with and linkage to America in this zone of enormous pressures in which it lies--that the idea of a European troisieme force between the major blocs is as much as ever a chimera, in the absence of any such force." This does not rule out possibilities of independent action, a meaningful division of tasks, and legitimate divergences between Europe and America in other sectors (inclusive of policy in and with the Third World).

Swiss-European Dialectics

The relationship of our country to Europe cannot remain uninfluenced by this state of affairs, by the fact that Europe is not able itself to guarantee its security. Although this state of affairs is not a theme of our relations with the European institutions, it nevertheless stands behind every policy of Europe and is a factor in our own security policy. It influences the significance of Swiss neutrality. We must make adjustments for this state of affairs as well as for possible realignments of West European policy.

Although Switzerland is indissolubly a part of Europe and is associated with it in every fiber of its being, since the beginning its history has displayed a kind of dialectical relationship to European development, "a tension between identification and detachment." And, according to the speaker, we have "kept to ourselves a zone of our own decision-making, however narrow, vis-a-vis this development, up to now." In an examination of the main points of Swiss history and the history of its neutrality, Luchsinger retraced in a convincing way the underlying trends of this relationship, the tension between openness and isolation, between taking part and standing aloof, and he noted that this "tension together with interactions" does not admit of any simplifying answers or any determinations "once and for all" of a specific direction.

The thread of history which leads to Swiss neutrality, to a withdrawal into separateness in its "standing aloof from power politics," to the good fortune of those spared from attacks, and which has brought us a lasting recognition of our "neutralite perpetuelle," encounters at every moment its not less impressive counterpart in engagement, in intensive communication, in manifold interactions between this country and its European as well as extra-European surroundings. In this connection, our history cannot be restricted to the principle of movement in a different direction. Rather, on closer examination one finds that every time there are definitely several tendencies mixed up with one another--for example, the fits of xenophobic isolation and of a hedgehog mentality occurring together with the heights of activity worldwide and maximum concentration of international associations on the part of Swiss industry, finance, and science.

Europe and Switzerland in the Last 30 Years

Following the war, the process of European integration nevertheless got under way, even though with difficulty, although not as the extensive and rapid political unification originally expected in some quarters but rather with a revival of the nation-states initially pronounced dead--which came into their own again as "cushioning positions in the chaos" and as initial positions for a new order. And this process has led in fact to a "confederation with a limited economic purpose." It has become apparent that the amalgamation of the national sovereignties can only result from a "relatively long process of mutual adjustment and accommodation." But the idea of a closer integration of the European community of states has remained as a political desideratum of life, and its vitality testifies to the fact that it is something necessary, in that solidarity on defense policy with Western Europe permits a degree of freedom, diversity, and scope for movement which, according to Luchsinger, would not be possible in any other constellation, and certainly not in a condition of Finlandization.

Switzerland has witnessed this "European process" with an often contradictory mixture of sympathy and scepticism, identification and disassociation, approval and criticism. As Europeans, we had to want the strengthening of Europe; as a state which remained intact in the war, we were not ready on the other hand to relinquish and merge our sovereignty "in a large association of in some cases rather unreliable companions." After our policy of neutrality had just stood the third acid test successfully, we were not willing to sacrifice this defense policy, which had proved to be such a fitting instrument for a small state, "to a European set-up of an uncertain durability and future," even though as exporters and traders we could not be pleased with the prospect of being discriminated against by the European Economic Community.

Meanwhile, some of our reservations have diminished, after the sometimes keenly resisted Europe of Brussels had not advanced "in a flying leap," and other reservations have completely disappeared, such as those against the Council of Europe in Strassburg, where as sovereign-nation Europeans we are working together without any difficulties with other Europeans in a single institution. As the neutral outsider, we were able and had to come to terms with the Europe of Brussels as well, because the nucleus of a harmonization which was constructed there has become a reality of commanding importance, and because for its part, Brussels itself has turned into the promoter of free world trade in the GATT negotiations.

Neutrality Policy and 'Finalite Politique' of the EEC

However, that which stands in the way, not of an equitable partnership, but surely of a complete incorporation of our country into the EEC, is as much

as ever the designated political purpose of the EEC, its "finalite politique," and the Swiss neutrality policy respectively. The EEC membership would demand curtailments of our sovereignty, at least the relinquishing of our autonomous capacity as a nation to contract agreements in foreign trade sectors, and would thus undermine the foundations of our neutrality policy. Here we are faced with the Either-Or, because the neutral state cannot permit its hands to be tied in one direction. On the basis of all our historical experience and the fundamental notion of sovereignty, the choice in favor of continuing our traditional policy of neutrality cannot be questionable even today. As much as ever, our defense policy requires the priority of neutrality. There is no alternative to this which has been more convincing, because "as narrow as the margin of probability may be of remaining outside a European conflict as a neutral state, it is still greater than zero, greater than that of the European alliance partners, and thus it must be taken into account by every responsible policy." In a time of relatively great international uncertainty such as today, the importance of neutrality increases, and in this respect we remain, concluded Luchsinger, "as Europeans, the exceptional case in Europe, which we have been for over 450 years--and strictly speaking which we have been essentially for almost 700 years."

Discussion

Under the direction of the president of the institute, Dr Robert Lang, who had also introduced the speaker of the evening at the start, a discussion took place subsequent to the lecture. Among other things, the question was raised of whether, in view of the high degree of our small nation's foreign involvement and foreign dependence, we still have our own freedom of action in and capacity to have control over foreign policy at all. Despite all the relativity of the concept of sovereignty, Luchsinger measures this freedom of action and thus the possibility of a neutrality policy by the possibility of engaging in an independent policy on treaties. If the authority to engage in a treaty policy were relinquished, a credible neutrality policy would also no longer be possible. Another question was directed at the situation of Switzerland in case of an attack on our country by the East via neutral Austria; under such circumstances, would not Switzerland be better off allied with NATO, so that it could count on its help? The speaker noted that since 1949, NATO circles have been happy with Switzerland's especially high degree of defensive power. In no NATO nation could borders be covered by troops for self-defense purposes so intensively as here. In the case of membership in NATO--which is not under discussion--Switzerland could scarcely count on additional help from outside, even though rather the contrary would be argued.

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BRIEFS

OPPOSITION LEADER ADDRESSES RALLY--Mut, 16 Mar (AA)--RPP leader Bulent Ecevit has claimed that Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel was thinking of himself as "ayatollah." Ecevit was speaking at a rally organized at Mut in southern Turkey yesterday. Ecevit accused the government of supporting the extreme rightwing militants and warned that he would have to account for this one day. Refuting the allegations to the effect that his party's members marched behind Stalin's portrait and the Soviet flag on May Day rallies, Ecevit said: "No faithful member of our party would march after Stalin's portrait or the Soviet flag. Ecevit added that May Day celebrations had in fact nothing to do with workers rights. Calling on the big political parties to join in reorganizing the Turkish state, Ecevit pointed out that citizens had complained during his travels about lack of diesel oil and other basic commodities. [Text] [TA161719 Ankara ANATOLIA in French 1645 GMT 16 Mar 80 TA]

JUSTICE PARTY NOT KHOMEYNI FAN--Justice Party Deputy leader Ali Erdem has called on those who believe in democracy and who feel confident in themselves to ask the opinion of the people [in early elections]. In a statement in Ankara, Erdem pointed out that in addition to divisionists and the destroyers of Ataturk's reforms, there were now East, West and Khomeyni fans. Erdem stressed that his party was not an East, West or a Khomeyni fan. He added that the fundamental principles of his party were nationalism and progress, the basics of the republic. He said that the Justice Party was a nationalist and Ataturkist party opposed to those who slandered nationalism and racism and to the religious fanatics who considered progress the imitation of the West. [Text] [TA171655 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 17 Mar 80 TA]

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